

INTRODUCTION REPORT by Deborah L. Knox

ICONS: INTIMATE PORTRAITS by Denise Worrell
excerpt from Introduction

DASHIELL HAMMET, A LIFE by Diane Johnson
excerpt from Introduction
PHOTO section

"The Nature of Crime and Delinquency" from
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY by Roy Lotz
PHOTO section

PHOTO SECTION BELONGING THEME

Cigarettes & Ritual excerpt from FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS
by Ernest Hemingway

"On Writers - excerpt from HERE'S LOOKING AT YOU KID,
FIFTY YEARS OF FIGHTING, WORKING AND DREAMING
AT WARNER BROTHERS

PHOTO section

PHOTO SECTION LEADERS - AGEING THEME

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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11/5/90

To: Clotaire
From: Deborah
Re: ICONS for the QUEEN

At our meeting on Sunday 10/28/90 at the Guest Quarters Suite in Boston you asked me to come up with a LIST OF THEMES based on the research I have completed on ICONS.. The themes are:

HEROES/ANTI-HEROES
COPS & ROBBERS (cowboys)
JUVENILE BEHAVIOR and AGEING
SOCIAL ROMANCE/THE GOOD LIFE
TAKING TIME/BRIDGING THE GAP/THINKING/CONTEMPLATING
(the military and writers)

These themes as represented by the icons seem to be uniquely American in that they represent our search for the American Dream. From Denise Worrell's introduction to ICONS we find, "icons vary from culture to culture... and in our tolerant and pluralistic society... we have agreed that everyone can more or less establish his own religion and the only one to which we all (or most of us) pledge allegiance is the religion of success" That religion of success is the American Dream." The themes that I have elaborated on speak to varying degrees about the pursuit of this dream as represented by the icons.

1. The HERO/ANTI HERO theme seems to contain many of the elements one encounters in pursuit of the American dream. This theme is represented by many of the icons from Hollywood - both stars (actors and actresses) and the screen characters they portray. These heroes hold an image for many Americans of the "good life," or offer an alternative to the good life (i.e., the seedier side of life) which

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is characterized by a feeling of "that's the way it otta be", or
lastly by an extreme representation of macho or female behavior.
The hero/anti hero as depicted by the macho detective hero are:

tough and taciturn

hard boiled

does not express emotions (tho' he has them)

places self outside society that is corrupt

defies authority

pictures authority as evil and menacing (often illegal)

These characteristics also fit many of our Western cowboy heroes
which is another major Hollywood film category.

The above characteristics represent the American wish for control
or self determination acting against the political machine. It
shows up later as part of the juvenile behavior theme. American's
identification with its heroes is an important aspect of our culture.
So a character like Humphrey Bogart playing the character Sam Spade
as developed by the writer Dash Hammett personifies the "world weary
unsurprised survivor" of American culture. Here, both the character
and the actor deal with contradictions in society by expressing them
in their own lives. ie, "the behavior is both libertine and-virtuous,
the lifestyle rich and poor, and faithful and unfaithful." There
seems to be a code of honor which ~~ma~~^kes this entirely acceptable to
many Americans and these heroes depict that. Perhaps this could
explain the behavior of some smokers who continue to smoke while
expressing wishes to give it up.

The "cops and robbers" theme can be taken one step further as a
representaiton of the conflict between the super ego and the id.
(immediate gratification vs. delayed gratification.) Even the
colloquial use of the term "private Eye" vs the "public 'I'"
captures this conflict theme.

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2. A subset of the hero/anti hero theme is that of juveniles and authority developed to its extreme in the information on juvenile delinquency. The theme is represented by some of the younger icons of Hollywood appearing in the 50's such as Marlon Brando, James Dean, Montgomery Clift, Clint Eastwood and the "Marlboro Man". Singers such as Bob Dylan and more recently Bruce Springsteen also capture some of this theme.

The literature and study of juveniles has increased over the years and now represents a major study area in the field of sociology. The natural rebelliousness associated with adolescence is perceived by the fact that belonging to one's peer group is (at least for a certain period of time) more important than the belonging to one's family. There is some concern that a stretch into "deviant behavior" (although undertaken by only a small segment of society) can occur when people belong to "gangs" and therefore have to protect their "turf."

Taking a further look at deviance in America we find the following behaviors are considered extremely deviant : suicide, drug use, alcoholism, mental disorders and sexual deviance. These areas are currently being challenged and some advocates of health and environmental awareness would like to include "telling ethnic jokes, appearing overweight in public, smoking cigarettes in taxis and restaurants, and being a male chauvinist." This kind of a stretch that is currently being advocated by the non-smoking advocates.

Since America as a country was founded on principles of free choice (the Bill of Rights) there can be a lot of disagreement on norms, beliefs and values. One of the purposes of laws is that they "fill the void created when people cannot agree on norms." The corollary of what is considered the "private good" or benefits of abstaining (for health reasons) are balanced by the "public good" of not influencing others (the effect of passive smoking.) The issue of free choice and prohibition may be worthy of further study.

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A further implication of the rise of juvenile delinquency is that it parallels a child-centeredness that emerged after WWII (the baby-boom 1946 - 64) It also parallels the rise of Hollywood's influence and the subsequent identification with heroes, the good life, the anti-social, the extreme macho behavior, etc. The rise of peer group pressure as an influence is related (by the theorists) to several special factors:

- a/ Dr. Spock's influence on child care (there was now a right way)
- b/ living space - move to suburbs (decentralization of the family)
- c/ entertainment industry - influence of movies and music which is then portrayed not only by Hollywood, but also by the advertising industry as it picks up hero figures and the music itself.

3. The SOCIAL/ROMANCE/SEDUCTION/GOOD LIFE theme is another one portrayed by Hollywood and depicted as part of the quest for the "good life." (This can be viewed as another aspect of belonging/acceptance in terms of "fitting" with a woman, or being perceived as attractive, desirable to men.) This theme is especially well portrayed by beautiful and glamorous female figures such as Lauren Bacall, Marlene Dietrich, Greta Garbo, etc. In some cases they represent the "other woman" (a form of deviant behavior depicted above?) Katherine Hepburn was an interesting figure in that she represented a woman leading the good life and the "other woman" In Philadelphia Story she played a society lady who defied the structure but was able to belong as a "new woman" Women as we know are often portrayed as the prostitute or as saint - here she depicted both. It is interesting to look at the changing role of women in America from the 50's to the 90's as reflected by the increasing number of women smokers. Women in the movies smoking in the 50's were part of a social set and behavior patterns reflected that belonging. Women smoking is on the rise ^{now} among executive and business women as reflected in part by the ad "you've come a long way baby."

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A recent movie "The Hot Spot" shows the erotic side of smoking as it relates to sexual activity - either before or after. Is lighting a cigarette for a woman a seductive act? ~~Why~~ wouldn't brassy, bold Tallulah Bankhead allow anybody but Daddy to light her cigarettes?

4. The TAKING TIME theme, TO WAIT/THINK, or BRIDGE THE GAP is exemplified by two groups - the Military and Writers.

MILITARY. GI's smoked before and after going into battle, before and after killing, and all the time they were waiting. A lot of that waiting over there was portrayed here as part of one's patriotic duty. Cigarettes were rationed at home; GI's had an allotment for sure, but they were sacrificing in other ways.

WRITERS Some of America's greatest writers (as artistic reflectors on society) earned their livelihood as Hollywood screen writers. At best they were ambivalent about the activity and were considered and maybe even considered themselves as "schmucks with Underwoods" (typewriters)

Ironically, tho' they experienced disdain for what they did, they may have had a greater influence on society than they realized. But these major themes of heroes, belonging, romance, the glories of war, etc., may have influenced future generations far more than they could have known at the time.

Some of the writers included and depicted here from the Hollywood Hay-days of the 30's and 40's are Lillian Hellman, Dorothy Parker, Dash Hammett, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Thomas Wolfe, James Agee were literally chain smokers and candid as well as professional photographs of them are readily available. Writers from the Beat generation of the 50's include Alan Ginsburg and Jack Kerouac and they certainly personified a rebellious streak.

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5. Another theme connected with heroes, both waiting and writing, is the ageing theme as it appears with "older" icons as leaders. These "immortal" figures represent leadership and are seemingly invincible. They include: Winston Churchill, FDR, Dag Hammarskjold, T.S.Eliot (poet laureate 1950 ^{speaking} ~~epaking~~ about post war values and morality) and Edward R. Murrow (newsbroadcaster during and after WWII.) It was more difficult to find pictures of these leaders - their public image did not include "smoking". (Incidentally, John and Jacqueline Kennedy clearly two of America's greatest heroes and depictors of the American dream were chain smokers and there are virtually no pictures of them available.)

Other aging smokers include George Burns who well into his 80's is an inveterate smoker of cigars as was Groucho Marx. So we see in this ageing theme both world leaders and Hollywood figures as heroes.

In summary, the icons explored thus far represent some very significant cultural influences on the American way of life. Identification and belonging needs certainly seem to be characteristic of the pursuit of the American dream. In preparing this report for you as a "professional stranger" I have learned how powerful they are. As you continue to explore the archetype, these icons should serve to reinforce or demonstrate themes and categories that are being revealed through your analysis.

Best of luck in Kansas City and I hope this will be helpful.

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ICONS: INTIMATE PORTRAITS by Denise Worrell

From the Introduction by Otto Friedrich

Icons are gods and yet not gods. An icon represents a god, which is not quite the same as being one, or rather it represents the idea of a god. ... It is the destiny of icons, one gathers, to be first worshipped, then buried and forgotten. Icons are thought to perform miracles, but they are also vulnerable, made of stone or clay which can be smashed... Perhaps it is only the lucky icons that are buried and forgotten. The fate of the others is to be first worshipped and then destroyed. If icons were aware of being icons, would they not live in a state of dread?

Yet icons vary from culture to culture.... and the Old Testament ~~sharply~~ forbade the creating of idols. The worship of icons arouses deep and violent emotions. (But) religious strife is not an essential part of the American scene, perhaps because none of the traditional religions is overwhelmingly important to us. Having officially agreed to be tolerant and pluralistic, having agreed not only to separate church and state but also to separate religion from education, religion from culture and even religion from morality, we have agreed that everyone can more or less establish his own religion, and the only one to which we all (or most of us) pledge allegiance is the religion of success. We have even given it a popular name, particularly popular during election campaigns: The American Dream.

The religion of success is not a real honest-to-God religion - but it does provide those short-term answers that Americans seem to prefer. It does sound pragmatic and practical. It does provide a goal - success - and a methodology - success - and an ethos - success. Like any faith, the religion of success needs and therefore creates its own icons.

We have three great sources for the creation of such icons. One is the national sport of moneymaking. (Lee Iacocca or Donald Trump) The second is Hollywood and the third is the area of music... but they are short and often elusive.

*the good
1976
belonging*

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INTRODUCTION

Dashiell Hammet, A Life by Diane Johnson

In the month of Dashiell Hammett's death, January 1961, John Crosby observed in the New York *Herald Tribune* that the television air was full of imitation Sam Spades: "As a matter of fact, they are imitations of imitation Sam Spades: the 77 *Sunset Strip* and the rest of them are now distilled by a whole batch of Hollywood hacks who have never been inside a police station. The stuff is turned out like salt-water taffy now, rather sexy and violent stuff, but nevertheless as commercial as anything sold at Atlantic City. Only the corruption remains; the talent has long since fled."¹

Now, twenty years after Hammett's death, this is all the more true. We take the hard-boiled hero for granted—he's as much a part of daily life as Superman—but we have nearly lost sight of the extent to which he was Hammett's creation, descended from Sam Spade, and from Sam's predecessor, a short, fat little man called the Continental Op.

These tough and taciturn heroes also derive, no doubt, from our national character, from our history and from earlier fiction, from Natty Bumppo to Race Williams, Spade's contemporary in the work of Carroll John Daly. The hard-boiled hero does not express his emotions (though he possesses them), and assumes himself to be outside a society that is itself corrupt and has disappointed him. He devises a course of action and sticks to it even though it is invariably at odds with the approved course and may even be illegal. As Oscar Wilde said, Americans are great hero-worshippers and draw their heroes from the criminal classes. We admire a hard-boiled hero who is determined, in a world devoid of values, to do what his code of honor tells him must be done, and his code

hero/
anti
hero

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as a newborn; he exists only in relation to a powerful father, the Old Man of the Continental Agency, whose rules are "rather strict" and who, like an implacable god, has "no feelings at all on any subject." And like the Old Man, other fathers in Hammett's early work prevail over sons; it may be the father who is sexually involved with a young woman, like Leopold Gantvoort in "The Tenth Clew"; or a father who is a sexual rival of his son. Most strangely—for it is a theme unusual in literature—the central crime in two of his novels, *The Glass Key* and *Red Harvest*, is the murder of a son by his father.

This vision of authority as evil and menacing also forms the basis of Hammett's politics and may even provide a clue to why he stopped writing—as an unconscious means of defying the fatherly editors who so enthusiastically fostered and championed him. His stories are dramatizations of conflict with authority born of the discovery that authority is flawed. Fathers are not gods; they kill; the law is corrupt; and the rich and powerful are the worst people.

Hammett was a Marxist, and this fact has encouraged various critics to identify his and other hard-boiled detective stories with Marxism (and sometimes fascism). It is true that *Red Harvest* can be seen as an indictment of capitalist society, but it presents no socialist program and no real idea of social change. The point is to describe the corruption and observe the protagonist in his attempt to make little temporary corrections for the sake of the endeavor, without much hope that they will endure, and to do this by the rules he makes up, which are not the rules of society.

Tough-guy politics might better be described as disillusioned populism. The methods adopted by the Op and others continue to appeal to us because they begin from a widespread perception of society and authority: "Available though it is to the appeal of patriotism during times of national crisis, much of the political sentiment of Americans remains crystallized in the image of little people, lost now without a party or a program. . . . The neopopulists' politics is that of frustration and a desire to set things right, at least temporarily, by any means, the simpler the better."² And so the Op retains his charm today. The more complex mutations of Hammett's hero into Spade, Ned Beaumont and Nick Charles arise from Hammett's personal history and dramatize his attitude to authority.

During his life, Dashiell Hammett was a popular figure, often identified with his creations. He was like the hero of a book—tall,

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derives from an earlier and simpler world—the world B.C. as Hammett called it—before credit and the crisis of 1918. Many Americans have internalized the point of view of the Hammett hero and see public officials and the official structures of society as inevitably corrupt.

Students of the detective story have explained the flourishing of this genre as an expression of the conflicts of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century society. The detective story is essentially an allegory, usually a Freudian allegory, with the detective as the superego and the criminal as the id—both aspects of the same personality. The crime is a symbolic enactment of some innate human impulse of lust or greed, and its solution, at least in the traditional story, represents the reintegration of the personality with society, its lawless impulses quelled so that society can again function smoothly. This is also the form of comedy, and the detective story is essentially a comic form. In Hammett's peculiar version, society is returned to its former state, but that itself is shown to be corrupt and false.

That the hunter and the hunted in tales of this kind are two aspects of the same personality is both metaphorically true and related to the fact that policemen and their prey understand each other and are in a strange way comfortable with each other. The private eye has a foot in each camp. But from the point of view of the criminal he is a bit too straight, and from that of the law a bit too seedy. He is at once a crook and a competitor. Even the title, "private eye," is a perfect metaphor for an inhabitant of the psychological territory that Sam Spade and the Op inhabit—territory vastly different from that inhabited by the public "I." To see crime as an aspect of the unconscious has led to changes in our attitudes toward it; the mission of the private eye is sometimes tempered by his sense of complicity, and sometimes his punitive zeal is intensified by his anxiety about this ambiguity.

The question of paternity is central to Hammett's work. This theme, or issue, involves the conflict between generations, identity, the handing down of skill and wisdom, the usurpation of authority, the transfer of power. In some of his early stories, set in the tuberculosis hospital where Hammett was sent after his military service, a young, powerless soldier ("I" or "Slim") joins others in defying or combating figures of authority—doctors or orderlies—and in situations where they cannot win they drift off like yearlings from a herd. Hammett's first detective, the Op, is as plump and nameless

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XX INTRODUCTION

handsome, talented and flamboyant, a former private eye turned writer and playboy. Eventually he was to be regarded as a political villain dedicated to the overthrow of the government, and he would finally lead the life of a forgotten and penniless recluse. During all these phases he was the same person, always his own man. But he was also the embodiment of certain contradictions and tensions typical of his generation and nationality, an individual, yet curiously typical too. His fascination for so many is perhaps like that of Humphrey Bogart, especially the Bogart as Spade, world-weary and unsurprised, a survivor.³

Like other men born in the nineteenth century within the traditions of the Catholic Church, Southern manhood and American patriotism, Hammett was heir to beliefs and values that, though they did not seem appropriate to the world he found, he believed in and could not abandon. To make sense of a contradictory world, he embodied the contradictions in his own life; his behavior was both virtuous and libertine. He was to be rich and poor; unfaithful while faithful; a patriotic Communist, an ascetic hedonist. All of these contradictions gave his life a certain fascination, and, even more, a certain familiarity. There was something peculiarly American about it that can be better presented perhaps than summarized. At each decade of his life he did the American thing—went West before World War I when young men went West, joined the army, went West again to San Francisco during the twenties and the heyday of gangsters and prohibition, went to Hollywood in the glamorous thirties, when Hollywood was at its peak, to war again in the forties, and in the fifties, during the witch-hunts, to jail. He presented himself gamely to history and bore its depredations cheerfully, for he had a strange and sweet nature and knew what the Continental Op knew when he woke up beside the dead body of Dinah Brand with an ice pick in his hand: no one is to be trusted, least of all yourself.

Hammett was not the only American novelist to be troubled by the confusions of two worlds and misled by the general tone of the American twenties and thirties, which Dorothy Parker later called the smartypants stage of our history. Among the people he knew, Fitzgerald was a virtual suicide, and Hemingway an actual suicide; only William Faulkner, also alcoholic, was able to survive. And these were college-educated, middle-class men.

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hero/anti - here
Cope +
robber

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Above. "I bet they're asleep in New York. I'll bet all over America." Dooley Wilson and Humphrey Bogart, 1943

Below. "Round up the usual suspects." Claude Rains, Humphrey Bogart and Conrad Veidt (on the right), 1943

Facing, bottom right. "Be kind to me, Sam." Gladys
as Iva Archer and Humphrey Bogart in *The Maltese Falcon*, 1941



Geo-

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The Nature of Crime and Delinquency

from JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND JUVENILE JUSTICE, By Roy Lotz
Random House, New York 1985

INTRODUCTION

Definitions

People are expected to obey society's rules—and most of them do most of the time, which makes social life fairly regular and predictable. This also makes the social sciences possible, since they depend on generalizations about the main patterns around which everyday life is organized. But when we look at the world around us, it is apparent that conformity is not complete. Rules are violated, and if we do not observe this fact personally, it is brought forcefully to our attention by the news media and the fictional dramas in movies, television shows, and books. People rape, rob, and assault. They join exotic cults, experience psychotic episodes, smoke pot, place bets with bookies, and commit suicide. A student of society needs to understand deviance as well as conformity in order to make sense of life in the modern United States.

Social scientists looking into deviance have traditionally focused on six major types: suicide, drug use, alcoholism, mental disorders, sexual deviance (principally prostitution and homosexuality), and crime and delinquency (Akers, 1977). In other societies the list of major kinds of deviance might well

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be quite different; even within the United States, there are disputes and challenges to these six areas. For example, there are current movements to portray homosexuality and drug use as elements of an acceptable "alternative lifestyle." Similarly, with the modern movements advocating health and physical fitness, a clean environment, and the end of racism and discrimination, new attempts are aimed at defining as deviant such behaviors as telling ethnic jokes, appearing overweight in public, smoking cigarettes in taxis and restaurants, and being a "male chauvinist" (Baker, 1980).

prohibition
Free choice
X

One might expect that crime and delinquency would be the least debatable variety of the six kinds of deviance—the one that no pressure group could redefine as permissible behavior. This expectation is partly true; crime continues to retain its traditional meaning (activity that the criminal law declares punishable), and it has few apologists. The scope of delinquency, however, is in transition, with its traditional definition under attack in recent years. Beginning at about the turn of the century, delinquency was defined broadly because officials and commentators were so optimistic that they could treat and cure it. States generally included three categories in their delinquency laws in those early years: (1) *crimes*—specific offenses that are punishable whether committed by adults or by juveniles, (2) *status offenses*—specific offenses (such as truancy, incorrigibility, curfew violations, and running away from home) that juveniles can be punished for but adults cannot, and (3) violations of the *omnibus clause*, a clause some states included in their delinquency laws that was meant to cover anything the more specific statutes inadvertently left out. One example of the omnibus or "catch-all" clause is "deports self so as to injure self or others"; another one is "in an occupation or situation dangerous to self or others" (Levin and Sarri, 1974). Such phrasing made the omnibus clauses so vague that almost any behavior or condition could be construed as delinquent.

In the 1970s and 1980s, delinquency laws changed in some states, a change stimulated by the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the 1967 case *In re Gault*, which criticized traditional juvenile court procedures and juvenile delinquency laws. Some states responded by dropping their omnibus clauses; critics had claimed that such clauses were hopelessly imprecise (and thus contrary to legal ideals, according to which laws should be specific) and gave undue authority to officials, allowing them to arrest and confine juveniles almost at whim. Some states also removed status offenses from the books, so that these are no longer considered forms of delinquency. Reformers contended that these activities were too trivial to warrant intervention by the courts or police. But after striking status offenses from the category of juvenile delinquency, many states have brought them back under another name, such as **PINS** (persons in need of supervision), **MINS** (minors in need of supervision), or **CHINS** (children in need of supervision). In a purely technical sense, then, the scope of juvenile delinquency is becoming more limited to crime. But juveniles are still being arrested and detained for the same status offenses as they were many years ago.

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Delinquency is almost invariably defined legally. It is behavior that delinquency laws mention. On the other hand, the term *delinquent* need not be defined legally. Long ago, scholars of a legalistic bent would define a juvenile delinquent as a person who has been declared delinquent in a juvenile court hearing. But sociologically, our interest lies in people who commit delinquent acts and why they do so; when this is our focus, it is not important whether the person was caught, arrested, turned over to the court, and found to be officially delinquent. This process tells us more about the juvenile justice system than about the individual juvenile. Thus, the juvenile delinquent is a person who is a juvenile and who has committed any activities that are violations of law. This is a nonlegal definition, and it is the definition scholars use when they conduct studies of unofficial delinquency. Throughout this book we will be citing the results of many such studies.

Concern about Delinquency

There is a great deal of interest in juvenile delinquency. There are 3,000 courts that handle delinquency cases. Police departments in most large and some medium size cities have special bureaus devoted to handling juveniles. Numerous treatment programs have been developed to rehabilitate juvenile offenders. At colleges and universities, nearly all sociology and criminal justice departments offer a delinquency course, although these departments almost never teach a course that deals with the many other aspects of adolescent life. And the delinquency of other age groups is entirely ignored; there are, for example, no schools with a course devoted wholly to the delinquency of the middle-aged or of senior citizens. Thus, when juveniles are studied, their delinquency is emphasized; and if any age group's delinquencies are studied, it is juveniles'.

There is no law that juvenile delinquency has to receive such lavish attention; one textbook on developmental psychology allots it no more space than anorexia nervosa—one page (Berger, 1980). Conceivably, the whole society could be equally as blasé and assign the subject of delinquency very little importance. But in fact delinquency has typically attracted considerable attention. Perhaps this emphasis on juvenile delinquency is an outgrowth of America's preoccupations with the related topics of law, youth, and social problems.

Americans have a special interest in law because it provides an official seal of approval for particular norms. The United States lacks the universal traditions and beliefs that older European, Asian, and African societies have. Citizens represent diverse backgrounds and ancestries, so they often disagree about which norms are right, which beliefs are true, which values are sacred. Therefore, some Americans turn to the law (courts and legislatures) to show that their norms are the officially accepted ones, the ones approved by society as a whole. Law fills the void created when people cannot agree on norms (Diamond, 1971). In some of these cases, people try to impose their

Prohibition
Free choice

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6 JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND JUVENILE JUSTICE

morality on other groups in the society, turning what they see as sins or immorality into crime. Prohibition is the most famous example from the past; the current controversies over abortion, busing, legalization of marijuana, and school prayer reflect more contemporary ones. Even aside from these issues of morality, the United States would still be a very litigious society. It has more than 700,000 lawyers—a figure predicted to reach 1 million by the mid-1990s (Naisbitt, 1984)—who use the courts to settle disputes over land, taxes, contracts, and other economic issues. Finally, people make innumerable demands on government to assist them, including those people who consistently complain about government regulation and red tape. "There ought to be a law" represents the broad, activist view that law should be used to set policies and attain goals—not ritualistically follow age-old precedents (Schlossman, 1977).

America is also said to be child-centered, a trait not found much in the distant past or in certain other societies. DeMause (1974) claims that children throughout the world received worse treatment the farther back in time one goes. Infanticide was common until the fourth century A. D.; indeed "London Bridge is falling down" refers to child sacrifice to the river gods. Abandonment was common from the fourth to the thirteenth centuries, and many children died before the age of five because they received so little attention. In colonial New England, children began to get more attention, a change fostered by religion. Strict Christians (Evangelicals) believed they needed to break a child's will so he or she could follow the will of God (Greven, 1977). They thought children were born in sin and thus had to be disciplined, purified, and converted if they were ever to go to heaven. This emphasis on discipline meant two things: children began to receive plenty of attention, but it involved criticism and scolding. Much later, in the late nineteenth century, religion had lost much of its influence in America, and booming cities offered new temptations to youths, while families exerted less control over them. These developments disturbed Progressives, a group of reformers who vowed to make society raise children more sensibly. Their child-centeredness led them to propose laws to institute compulsory schooling, to reduce child labor, and to establish juvenile courts, among others. Finally, after World War II child-centeredness emerged in full force with the baby boom (1946–1964). Many families moved to the suburbs to give their children more room to play; parents chauffeured them to piano lessons and Little League practice; television arrived and provided children's shows (*Howdy Doody*, *Leave It to Beaver*, and so on); communities built new schools and colleges to accommodate these children; and Dr. Benjamin Spock, the eminent baby doctor, predicted that the postwar babies would be America's best and brightest generation (Jones, 1980).

In addition to their interest in law and youth, Americans have shown a fascination with social problems. These are conditions widely regarded as undesirable but subject to improvement through practical intervention. In

Nelly wood
the good
He

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delinquency to shore up the students' battered self-esteem—the most likely delinquency being school vandalism and assaults on teachers.

Tracking

belonging

A small group of scholars has singled out tracking as an important cause of delinquency. Tracking refers to the grouping of students into college-preparatory and other categories variously called general, vocational, business, agricultural, or remedial. Students in the college-preparatory track traditionally take a foreign language, algebra or some other advanced math course, and a science course during their freshman year in high school. Other students take courses in other tracks. Thus, segregation and differentiation begin very early in students' high school careers.

The people who decide on which track a student should be placed include guidance counselors and teachers. According to several studies, these officials do not rely on students' academic ability alone when making this decision. Cicourel and Kitsuse (1963; 1968) found two types of error to be common: (1) low-ability students assigned to the college-bound program and (2) high-ability students placed in one of the noncollege tracks.

Type 1 students may have parents who push them into the college-bound track, or they may be informally sponsored by teachers or guidance counselors who believe them to be "serious, personable, well-rounded students with leadership potential" (Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1963:138). Type 2 students tend to be lower-class or members of a minority group (Schafer and Olexa, 1971). Kelly (1977) tried to find out how such errors might arise. He asked teachers to select those junior-high-school students who ought to be placed in a remedial reading program. He found that the teachers' selections were often questionable; many of the students chosen for the program had reading-test scores that were too high to warrant placement in it. After looking at many factors that could have influenced the teachers' decisions, Kelly concluded that the most influential one was whether the student had ever been in a remedial program. Thus, students who had become competent readers were stereotyped as incompetent by their teachers because they had once been placed in a remedial reading program and never recovered from the damaging effects of this label.

These labels are important because they may turn out to be irreversible: once assigned to a particular track, the student has little chance of ever being reassigned. Going from a noncollege to a college-preparatory track, for instance, is difficult because schools establish prerequisites: thus freshman algebra must be taken before one can take sophomore plane geometry; taking basic math in the freshman year, school officials argue, would not adequately prepare a person to jump into geometry as a sophomore. Schafer et al. (1972) found that only 7 percent of students switch from a college-preparatory track to a noncollege track or vice versa.

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TABLE 4-2
Delinquency by Sex, Class, and Track Positions (Yule's Q)

Self-reported Act	Sex	Class	Track
Expelled from school	-.60	-.10	-.66
Placed on school probation	-.07	+.07	-.52
Skipped school	-.24	-.24	-.45
Stole book from library	-.21	+.08	-.39
Involved in gang fighting	-.57	+.08	-.61
→ Smoked cigarettes	+.06	-.02	-.57
Smoked marijuana	-.09	+.22	-.39
Shoplifted	-.14	+.07	-.46
Drank alcohol	-.14	+.13	-.45

Source: Kelly, 1975:268

Furthermore, the track that students occupy makes an important difference in their subsequent careers. It influences the people they associate with in and out of school, their grades, their participation in extracurricular activities, their self-esteem, their attitude toward school, their chances of failing, their attendance, their troublemaking while in school, and their involvement in juvenile delinquency elsewhere.

Schafer et al. (1972) found that a student's track has more effect on grade-point average than do variables such as social class, IQ, or previous grade-point average. This relationship may stem partly from grading floors in college-preparatory tracks (where almost no student gets a grade below B) and grade ceilings in other tracks (where almost no student gets a grade above B). And according to Schafer et al., noncollege-bound students get worse grades the longer they stay in school, while the grades of college-bound students consistently improve from their freshman to senior years. (It is possible that after Schafer et al. finished their work, grades of noncollege-bound students also improved, due to grade inflation.)

More important, though, is the link between track position and delinquency, an issue examined most thoroughly by Kelly (1975). In a self-report study of seniors from predominantly rural areas of western New York State, he compared track position, sex, and social class to see which factor predicted delinquency best. Kelly looked at three kinds of delinquency measures: ordinary offenses (gang fighting and shoplifting), school-related offenses, and status offenses. His findings appear in Table 4-2. Surprisingly, delinquency is more closely associated with track position than with sex, and social class and delinquency are related only quite weakly. Track position was most strongly linked to gang fighting, smoking, and school expulsion—one of each of the three types of offense. Thus, it appears as though school stratification may have some undesirable side effects for those students who fall into the noncollege tracks.

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People knew about these phenomena years ago, of course, but they did not group them all together and give them a special name until 1904, when psychologist G. Stanley Hall coined the term "adolescence." Thus, the concept of adolescence is relatively new, and, because of Hall, the term has carried mostly psychological overtones. Even today, psychologists dominate the field of adolescence. First Hall and later Anna Freud developed the psychoanalytic perspective on adolescence. They characterized this period of life as a turbulent, emotional one, filled with storm and stress, brought on by the various biological changes in puberty. Such storm and stress were viewed as inevitable by the psychoanalysts and thought to be universal—not just limited to a particular social class, culture, or historical era. As psychoanalysts, however, Hall and Freud tended to see mostly disturbed youngsters who were in therapy; most youngsters did not receive such therapy or intensive diagnosis, so psychoanalytic samples were usually skewed toward the troubled and atypical youngsters. Thus it was concluded that adolescents in general suffer from rather serious problems: "emotional volatility, need for immediate gratification, impaired reality testing, failure of self-criticism, and indifference to the world at large" (Adelson and Doehrman, 1980:113). The recommended way to deal with such problem behavior was to provide a benign environment and wait for the adolescent to get the turmoil out of his or her system. This kind of thinking continues even today, as the following remarks indicate:

Many teenagers have an inner radar that detects what irritates their parents. If we value neatness, our teenager will be sloppy, his room messy, his clothes repulsive, and his hair unkempt and long. If we insist on good manners, he will interrupt conversations, use profanity, and belch in company. If we enjoy language that has grace and nuance, he will speak slang. If we treasure peace, he will quarrel with our neighbors . . . and bully their children. . . . Rebellion against authority and against convention is to be expected and tolerated for the sake of learning and growth. . . . Adolescence is a period of curative madness in which every teenager has to remake his personality. He has to free himself from childhood ties with parents, establish new identifications with peers, and find his own identity (Ginott, 1969:23–25).

The psychoanalytic view of adolescence has long been the dominant, orthodox position. But it has been challenged by others, including what might be called the sociocultural view. The sociocultural theorists doubt that any universally true statements can be made about adolescents. These writers emphasize how different cultures deal with the adolescent period in different ways. The most famous work along these lines is Margaret Mead's early book on adolescents in Samoa (1928). She found that far from generating storm and stress, puberty in Samoa tends to arrive without much fanfare and to proceed quite smoothly. Mead attributes this in part to the Samoans' rather open, permissive attitude toward sexuality in general. (Biologically, of course,

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all changed in the 1950s, when the proportion of youths attending school climbed into the 80-percent range (Elder, 1980). Thus, there were many more youngsters in America in the 1950s, and a much higher percentage of them were attending school. This meant new schools had to be built and new teachers had to be hired; it also meant that youths the same age were gathered together in record numbers—and were accompanied by very few adults. Empey calls schools of today "youth ghettos" (1982:43), and he finds age segregation pervasive.

... kindergarten children are kept apart from first graders, first graders apart from second graders, and so on—not only in school but elsewhere. We are terribly conscious of the ages of childhood. . . (1982:47).

A third factor in the apparent rise of peer groups is the special treatment and consideration devoted to the baby-boom generation. Let us briefly mention three areas.

1. *Literature.* Dr. Benjamin Spock's book on baby and child care was first issued in 1946 (the year the baby boom began) and sold over a million copies for eighteen years in a row.
2. *Living space.* There was a very substantial migration to the suburbs.

In the twenty years from 1950 to 1970, the population of the suburbs doubled from 36 million to 72 million. No less than 83 percent of the total population growth in the United States during the 1950s was in the suburbs, which were growing fifteen times faster than any other segment of the country (Jones, 1980:38-39).

- ✱ 3. *Entertainment.* Though less than 1 percent of homes had television in 1946, 86 percent had a set by 1960. Hoola hoops and Barbie dolls also capitalized on the market created by the baby-boom generation. More significantly, though, this generation acquired its own music, rock and roll.

The music consolidated their group identity, bridging the emotions they all felt with peers who felt the same way. Rock was a language that taught the baby boom about themselves (Jones, 1980:62).

In the 1950s, there was a growing belief that young people as a whole were turning away from their parents and seeking closer ties with their peers or age-mates. (Peers are persons who are the same age but are not relatives.) One of the more important advocates of this argument is David Riesman (1950). According to him, the American family is not as closely knit as it once was; now it is only one part of the child's overall environment. Typical American children have higher status and more power than in previous decades, he wrote in 1950, and they face few if any economic hardships or

No Hollywood
Heroes

advertising

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things, not world-shaking issues; these findings have been duplicated by Rutter et al. (1976) and Fogelman (1976).

In general, research points out that adolescents and parents tend to get along reasonably well, perhaps better in the teen years than in the preteens. Offer's (1969) study of typical adolescent boys found that a great majority of them (1) said that their parents approved of their future plans, (2) felt close to one of their parents, (3) said that they were disciplined by parents both fairly and reasonably, and (4) indicated that the worst feature of their home life was nothing more than sharing a room with a sibling or having only one car in the family. Hill sums matters up:

The psychoanalytic position that rebelliousness is normal during adolescence enjoys considerable support from those who work with troubled and troublesome young people. Studies of more representative samples of the population, however, do not support this position. Adolescence is not, in general, a period of overt rebelliousness and familial conflict in industrial societies [according to] representative samples of parents and their adolescent offspring (1980:38).

Thus there is little evidence of adolescent revolt except for some domestic bickering over dress, sleeping hours, household chores, and the like.

The second question concerns whether parents or peers influence an adolescent more. Bowerman and Kinch (1959) conducted a study to see what changes take place as children pass from fourth through tenth grades. They looked at similarity (whose ideas the child's resembled more) and identification (who understood them more and whom would they rather be like when they grow up). As they proceeded from fourth to tenth grade, children tended to move closer to their peers on both similarity and identification. But even in the tenth grade, only about one-fourth identified with peers. Of course, this research is quite old, so the results might be different if the study were conducted today.

A more recent study of high schoolers (Cohen, 1980) found that youths do grow away from their parents and spend less time at home as they get older. But in moving from the freshman to the senior years, high schoolers do not reduce the importance they attach to pleasing their parents; nor do they lapse into a slavish conformity to the peer group during this period. In fact, Cohen found that popularity and peer acceptance become less important as one passes through high school. Conformity with peers peaks in about ninth grade (Berndt, 1979).

In looking at the question of parental influence versus peer influence, Brittain (1963) noted that parents have more influence when the issues involve future plans (education or occupation), while peers have more influence on issues such as what is attractive in the way of dress and grooming and what customs are appropriate for adolescents. Kandel (1980) also states that the influence of parents and peers varies, depending on the issue. On most

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issues, however, Kandel and Lesser (1972) found the adolescent's mother to be very influential. These same two researchers also found that American teenagers, in contrast to Danish teens, turn to peers for hedonistic activities rather than for advice.

One such activity is drug use. A great many studies show that people who use drugs tend to have friends who use them too (for a list of these studies, see Kandel, 1980). But this statement requires two qualifications. First, some people who use drugs tend to believe, often mistakenly, that their peers also use drugs (Kandel, 1980; Brown, 1982). Second, if two peers both use drugs, it is not always true that one of them has pressured the other into becoming a user; perhaps both were users first and only became friends later. Kandel (1978; 1980) has looked into this question carefully and discovered that influence (becoming like another person occurs after meeting) and selection (individuals associate because they are like each other) of peers are equally important factors in the similarity of peers' behavior. This is true not only for drug use, but for delinquency, political orientation, and educational plans. Thus, traditional models of influence, by failing to take selection into account, overestimate the amount of peer influence by 100 percent.

The major emphasis in theories of adolescent subcultures (Coleman's, for example) is on boys. But researchers have indicated that girls may in fact be more susceptible to peer pressure. Why should this be true? Blyth et al. (1982) offer one reason: girls consider more people to be significant in their life. The researchers traced this difference to the tendency of females to be more verbal and more oriented to people, while boys have traditionally been more interested in objects and tasks. Brown (1982) also found females to be more subject to peer pressure—particularly pressure to be socially active, to dress attractively, and to maintain a relationship with a boyfriend. Boys are under more pressure (from other boys) to engage in sexual intercourse than girls are, but this kind of pressure affects girls' behavior more than boys'.

One of the more common ways to test the relative influence of parents and peers is to present adolescents with a hypothetical situation in which they have a choice of two actions, one that their parents favor and one their friends endorse. Larson (1972) used this technique for a variety of situations, such as joining a club, going to a party, or pursuing a noncollege-bound track at school. He did *not* find that adolescents usually ignore their parents and follow their peers' wishes. He did find that adolescents' choices depended on the situation: most youths chose to enter or not to enter a given situation regardless of how parents or peers felt about it. These "situation compliant" individuals made up three-fourths of all the respondents. Most of the other one-fourth complied with parents more than peers by a ratio of three to one. Summing up, we can say that peer groups do not often dominate individual adolescents, and parents still have an impact on many of the decisions their children make.

smoking
for pleasure

peer
group

rise of
smoking
among
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Other researchers have looked into the group nature of delinquency. Studies earlier in the century (for example, Shaw and McKay, 1931; Healy and Bronner, 1936) overestimated the amount of delinquency that could be attributed to groups. These studies relied on official data, and officials were more likely to arrest and refer youths to court if they congregated in packs. To counter this bias, Hindelang (1976) turned to self-report data to estimate group-delinquency rates. He found that some offenses were more likely than others to be committed when with associates; using marijuana and getting drunk, for instance, are primarily social activities. But a few are more often done alone (such as carrying a weapon). Research by Erickson and Jensen (1977) has produced similar findings: delinquency is usually group behavior. But these studies do not define "group" or say how many youths are typically involved in these collective activities. If Lerman is right, the typical situation involves a boy with only one or two companions; thus we would agree with Korn and McCorkle (1959) when they declare that most delinquency is companionate behavior—not group behavior.

PEERS AND MALE DELINQUENCY

Concern about peers and male delinquency has historically centered around gangs. The term "gang" has had several meanings over the years. At one time, it referred to a group of adult desperadoes bent on robbery and capable of cruelty and violence (Miller, 1981). The James gang, which wrecked and robbed trains in the late nineteenth-century West, contributed to early perceptions of what gangs were. In the early part of the twentieth century, however, sentimental songs softened and romanticized the term (Miller, 1981); one popular lyric lamented that "those wedding bells are breaking up that old gang of mine." "Gang" thus came to mean a group of close associates, with no deviant or criminal connotations. (The term continues to be used this way sometimes.) Then, in the 1950s, the definition changed again, referring this time to large groups of urban boys who fought each other in violent battles or "rumbles" like the Sharks and the Jets in the famous musical and movie *West Side Story*.

The study of delinquent gangs is still hampered by definitional problems. When Walter Miller asked police juvenile officers, social workers, and other presumed experts to define gangs, they agreed on the following traits: organization, leadership, turf, cohesiveness, and purpose. But do gangs really exhibit these characteristics?

1. *Organization:* Occasionally, a gang is organized. Perhaps the best example is the Vice Lords, a Chicago gang that took on the features of an organization because of jealousy over the publicity being accorded a rival gang, the Blackstone Rangers.

gang

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The most important element in the new organizational scheme . . . was the creation of an administrative body called the "board" to deal with matters affecting the entire Vice Lord Nation. Further, regular weekly meetings were instituted with representatives from all the subgroups present. Finally, membership cards were printed with the Vice Lords' insignia—a top hat, cane, and white gloves. Every Lord in the Nation was required to pay an initial membership fee of 1 dollar, have his nickname written on the club's rolls, and carry his card with him at all times (Keiser, 1969:8).

The Vice Lords, however, appear to be very atypical! Short (1974) suggests that most gangs fall somewhere in the middle between crowds and mobs on the one hand and ordinary organizations on the other. Yablonsky (1959) goes much farther and says the gang is not even a group; it is a "near-group." It fits the needs of its members whose social abilities are so rudimentary that they cannot meet the minimal demands of a more organized or stable group.

2. *Leadership*: Nearly all commentators claim that gangs have clearly established leaders. In the militaristic or Mafia-style model, the top authority position

is analogous to that of the highest ranking officer in a military unit; below him are lieutenants, sublieutenants, and so on. Decisions originating in higher echelons are transmitted through the ranks by chain-of-command system (Miller, 1981:297).

A second type of ideal leader is charismatic—that is, ruling by force of his unique personality. This leader is usually older, stronger, and revered by the gang's members. Miller says commentators believe that these ideal types are common, but in his experience, gang leaders are much more flexible and democratic. Krisberg says the only distinctive feature of gang leaders is their superior verbal ability. In the black gangs he studied, this verbal facility, or "gift of gab," enabled leaders to capture the attention of other members (1975:74). But older, more influential gang members said the leaders actually did not do anything.

3. *Turf*: Turf gangs identify with a particular territory or neighborhood.

Classic youth gangs in traditional slum areas of older cities such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and San Antonio identified with a particular block, neighborhood, district, or barrio. Boundaries were well defined and widely recognized (Miller, 1981:298).

Crossing turf boundaries and entering another gang's territory were dangerous risks at one time. But times have changed. Automobiles have increased the mobility of teenagers, and slum districts have been sliced up by highways and urban renewal, blurring the old dividing lines. And Simon et al. (1976) say that changes in politics and communications at the national and global levels have made the old communities fragile and ephemeral. Some well-defined turfs remain, of course, as in the bar-

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rios of East Los Angeles (Moore, 1978). And some gang members never leave their part of the city (Krisberg, 1975).

In some cases, *turf* refers less to territorial rights than to a particular line of business that one gang exploits and tells other gangs to leave alone. Among youth gangs, the most

dramatic current manifestation of this practice is found in the activities of Chinese extortion gangs operating in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, and other cities. These gangs have extorted hundreds of thousands of dollars from Chinese restaurant owners and other businessmen (Miller, 1981:299).

4. Cohesiveness: Are gangs very close, tight-knit organizations with loyal members bound to one another by mutual friendship and common interests? Early writers thought so. Thrasher (1927), for instance, depicted gangs filled with happy-go-lucky youngsters that performed positive functions, such as providing status for members. Modern writers are sometimes equally romantic. Brown (1978), for instance, claims that gangs provide very close relationships with people who will help in time of crisis. He quotes a gang member to support his argument:

"Me and my homies are tight, we're blood. I know I can count on them, and they know they can count on me. If I need some clothes one of my homies will help me get them. After all, if I'm looking cheap it makes them look bad . . . and if it comes to a fight, I know my homies will be there. They stone bad and they don't let nobody get over on any of us" (Brown, 1978:41).

But most careful researchers disagree. Klein (1971) says that the gang members he observed were "dissatisfied, deprived, and making the best of an essentially unhappy situation" (1971:91). Short and Strodtbeck (1965) say that gang members tend to fail at school, on the job, and elsewhere; these failures, along with other social disabilities, make gang members anxious and insecure about their status, and such insecurities are heightened by constant challenges and insults by other gang members. Klein adds that there are good reasons why gangs are not cohesive: (1) the gang has few if any group goals; (2) the membership is constantly in a state of flux, turning over rapidly; and (3) group norms are practically nonexistent.

5. Purpose: Delinquent gangs are typically thought to exist for the purpose of committing offenses. Purpose is a state of mind difficult for gang researchers to measure; it is easier to study behavior—the extent to which gangs engage in offenses. Researchers have found that gang members spend most of their time on other pursuits—notably, just whiling away their time:

Offhand, I can think of few categories of people who are less exciting to observe than gang members simply because, by and large, they just stand around and do nothing! Certainly, their involvement in delinquent episodes is so infrequent

belonging

time-gap

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ways to calculate "catching up." We can use the absolute number of offenses by which boys outnumber girls on arrests and see if the gap gets smaller as the years go by. Or we can take the percentage (relative number) of offenses boys account for and subtract from it the percentage of offenses girls account for and see if the difference gets smaller. If we do this for each type of offense in the Uniform Crime Reports for the years 1973 to 1982, we find that the only offense for which both the absolute gap and the relative gap decrease is motor-vehicle theft. And the reason for this decrease is that, for reasons unknown to us, boys' arrests declined considerably for this crime during the ten-year period; girls' arrests did not skyrocket. For the more serious offenses, neither the absolute gap nor the relative gap gets much smaller. There is no clear sign that female adolescents have been catching up to their male counterparts in delinquency in recent years.

SUMMARY

G. Stanley Hall coined the term "adolescence" in 1904, and psychologists have dominated the field since then, branding adolescence as turbulent, emotional, and filled with storm and stress. In the second half of the twentieth century, the emphasis has shifted away from adolescence per se and toward the peer group. Riesman argued that peer groups have become more influential than parents and that the child has become an unthinking conformist, surrendering his or her independent judgment. Bronfenbrenner said parents have withdrawn, leaving a social vacuum that children have filled by turning to the peer group, whose influence is mostly negative.

Coleman said that affluence has fostered independence from parents and the mass media have made children more sophisticated, so they are less passive and obedient at home and in school. They turn to peers, from whom they learn hedonistic and superficial values. Some commentators claim that this adolescent subculture may give rise to delinquent gangs, whose sole purpose is to engage in deviant behavior.

Researchers, however, have found that the gap between parents and teenagers is not so large as these theorists claim. Offer, for instance, found that most boys felt close to their parents, thought parental discipline was fair and reasonable, and agreed with parents on future educational plans. On the question of whether parents or peers are more influential, researchers found peers more influential on matters such as drugs, drinking, and dress, while parents have more impact on future plans. Even where drugs and drinking are concerned, though, the similarity between an adolescent and his or her peers is due as much to selection of friends as to influence of friends.

Research on the relationship between peers and male delinquency

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the three men and by dawn also had successfully treated sixteen others (Bartol, 1980). Eventually, Demara ceased this kind of activity, and a book and movie were made of his life.

Psychopaths are unpredictable and unreliable, but only some of the time. Their crimes stem from a cyclical impulsiveness. They generally commit offenses where the risks are high and the gains are small or even nonexistent. Some psychologists think that a key element of the psychopathic personality is a need for greater stimulation, thrills, and excitement (Quay, 1965). Some of these points seem to be applicable to Ted Bundy, a young man who received considerable notoriety on the West Coast a few years ago. In 1978, the FBI called Bundy perhaps the most prolific mass murderer in American history. He killed young women and teenage girls in a series of attacks from Washington state to Florida. These murders followed a pattern of impulsiveness: he would be inactive for a while, then there would be a period of furious activity, then another lull. One investigator referred to the offender as having "an alarm clock of madness in his head, ticking, ready to go off at certain intervals" (Larsen, 1980:24). Bundy was very capable of manipulating, charming, and exploiting people—even the governor of Washington state wrote a letter of recommendation for him. People who knew him described him as sympathetic, understanding, very tender; one person commented that "you can't help but have a great deal of affection for him" (Larsen, 1980:7). He also had a high IQ, had served as assistant director of the Seattle Crime Commission, and had entered law school. Later, after committing the crimes, he dropped hints to his captors: "The evidence is there. Keep diggin'. You'll find it" (Larsen, 1980:297). And he committed his final murders in Florida, deliberately crossing the entire country to get there after he had learned that Florida was the state where capital punishment is most popular. The Bundy profile thus resembles Cleckley's picture of the psychopath in many ways. But Bundy is also very atypical; very few criminals and delinquents can appear so friendly and sympathetic. Thus, we cannot expect to trace many offenses to psychopathy.

Fearlessness

Previously, in the section on biological theories, we mentioned that temperament has been linked to delinquency through body type. Usually, however, it is the psychological theories that discuss the importance of temperament or personality. Here we are going to look at the personality trait of fearlessness and its possible relationship to delinquency. Lykken (1982) contrasts the fearful with the fearless; the former avoid risk and stress by seeking out relatively sheltered environments. The latter, though, appear to have conquered fear; they welcome risk. Each society needs to have some people who are fearless, people who go on to become explorers, astronauts, or national leaders.

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Not all fearless people pursue this path, however, as Lykken notes. He divides the fearless into two types, the hero and the disordered person. We are not sure what causes fearlessness, but it seems to occur early in life. Lykken suggests that whether the fearless person becomes a hero or a disordered person depends on how he or she is raised. Fearless children are difficult to rear. They are not afraid of antagonizing their parents, and parents may react by giving them less warmth and affection. The child thus becomes less interested in other people's feelings and less likely to adopt their beliefs, values, and sentiments. Such children may learn to use their daring and aggressiveness to win approval on the streets. Take the case of Al Capone, who at age 10 challenged a Marine Corps guard to fight:

"Hey, you long-legged number three there! Get in step! You're holding 'em up. . . ." Crimson with shame and anger, the recruit ran up to the gate, making as if to spit at the boy through the bars. Al flew into a rage and, though the recruit was twice as big, challenged him to a fight. The corporal intervened, ordering the recruit back to the guardhouse. . . . [Al] swaggered up and down before his awed companions (Kobler, 1971:24-25).

Research shows that such offenders do not get sweaty palms in shock experiments because they take disaster lightly. The question, however, is how many offenders are like this. Lykken's research does not tell us; fearlessness could be a very rare trait.

Hyperactivity

Hyperactivity has been linked with juvenile delinquency (Berman and Siegal, 1976). Hyperkinesis (the medical term for hyperactivity) is thought to occur in 2-12 percent of grade schoolers, with a higher incidence among boys than girls. Signs of this disorder include excessive movement, short attention span, mood swings, fidgeting, and impulsiveness (Conrad and Schneider, 1980). Teachers recognize it when they say, "That boy just can't sit still for a moment." Hyperactivity is a new problem, or at least a new name for an old one. Gross and Wilson (1974) say that it is also now the most common psychiatric problem. Scores of clinics are dedicated to treating it, and they are backed up by sizable federal expenditures. Some commentators say that drug companies have largely created the problem, so they can supply the treatment and reap the profits.

The pharmaceutical companies spent a great deal of time and money promoting stimulant medications for this new disorder. After the middle 1960s it was nearly impossible to read a medical journal . . . without seeing some elaborate advertising for either Ritalin or Dexedrine. . . . These same pharmaceutical firms also supply sophisticated packets of "diagnostic and treatment" information on hyperkinesis to physicians, pay for professional conferences on the subject, and

the hero

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rebel - how
anti - how



Jack Albin

A Streetcar Named Desire, 1950



The Maltese Falcon with Humphrey Bogart, Peter Lorre, Mary Astor and Sydney Greenstreet. (Huston)



*hero
society
belonging*

A publicity still from
To Have and Have Not.

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*social
belonging
waiting*

At the Night of Stars
with Burgess Meredith.

Hostess at the Stage Door
Canteen. John Carradine
is at the mike.



Theatre Wing

Stage folk as well as servi
are having a lot of fun
recently-opened American
Wing Stage Door Canteen,
free for uniformed men nig
the Forty-fourth Street
Building.
Here are some shots from thei
of entertainment.

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*social
acceptance*

Mae West and Paul Cavanagh in *Goin' to Town*.



Adolphe Menjou, Genevieve Tobin and Mary Astor in *Easy to Love*.



Victor McLaglen and Mae West in *Klondike Annie*.

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Marlene Dietrich & Richard Todd
in Stage Fright



Ken Lynch, Jane Fonda, Capucine, Laurence Harvey and Barbara
Stanwyck in *Walk on the Wild Side*.

*social
acceptance*

Claire Trevor and Fred MacMurray in *Borderline*.



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Marlene Dietrich and George Katt in Manpower

SOCIAL/acceptance



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*Women
power*

She went to Washington in 1939 to appeal for restoration of WPA theater projects. Laliulah hated to have her cigarettes lit for her, but Daddy, by that time Speaker of the House, was an exception.



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social
belonging



Autographed portrait of Tallulah was inscribed on the back: "Love life and people."

waiting

cigarettes and ritual (the army)

For Whom the Bell Tolls. Ernest Hemingway

Robert Jordan went over to the packs and opening one, felt inside an inner pocket and brought out one of the flat boxes of cigarettes he had gotten at headquarters. He ran his thumbnail around the edge of the box and opening the lid handed them to Pablo who took a half dozen. Pablo holding them in one of his huge hands, picked one up and looked at it against the light. They were long narrow cigaretts with cylinders for mouthpieces....

ritual { "Much air and little tobacco". I know these. Robert Jordan offered the cigaretts to the other two and each took one. "Take more" he said and they each took another. He gave them each four more they making a double hood with the hand holding the cigaretts so that the cigarette dipped its end as a man salutes with a sword, to thank him." p 20

He was violating the second rule of the two rules for getting on well with people that speak Spanish; "Give the men tobacco and leave the women alone," p 24, ✕

Robert Jordan citing a man through a telescop he's about to kill...

He look sleepy and as Robert Jordan watched him he yawned. Then he took out a tobacco pouch and a packet of papers and rolled himself a cigarette. He tried to make the lighter work and fianlly put it in his pocket and went over to the brazier, leaned over and reached inside and brought up a piece of charcoal then lit the cigarette.

Robert Jordan was looking through the Zeiss 8 power glasses, watched his face as he leaned against the wall of the sentry box, drawing on the cigarette. Then he took his glasses down, folded them together and put them in his pocket.

I won't look at him again he told himself. p 433

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Hollywood...

Writers "shmucks with Underwoods"

"one thumbed his nose at Hollywood, while making his millions"

In New York, many writers were out of work. The Depression was hard on expendable artists, musicians and writers. ... At the "other end of Broadway" on the coast, there was work. The talking picture was the new attraction and the performers needed something to say. They needed words and even New York writers with steady work headed West. Some were even invited.

They came with purpose. Hard times were eroding the nation, eating out its heart, its spirit; but to the literate, educated thinking man, the Depression was only tearing down the old way to make way for the new. The time was ripe for change and the socially aware needed a stage for their words. One place appeared perfect, Hollywood.

[... In Hollywood they could carefully put their words end to end with their great ideas, even with pictures and restructure the society. They could make the poor rich, bring the dying back from the dead, raise the storyteller to his rightful throne and get paid for doing it.

Hollywood was at last going to have a soul, a social conscience, an intellect. Film was at last going to become an art form; the writers would see to it.

It usually took about six months for the writers to find out that although they were needed badly, they weren't wanted...

The writers didn't act like movie people, didn't even act like they wanted to belong; and a few obviously didn't need to. They were usually the talented ones, loners with strange ideas and behavior patterns that didn't fit any business anywhere. Hollywood would put up with all kinds of madness, ... but not men who consorted with the moon, with men who preferred to be alone.

Many of the writers, however, were convinced that what Warner wanted was trash and that they were writing it. They felt they were working for money not art, and they were usually right. It had to hurt. Most had come to Hollywood for the chance to show the world what that world was really like. Their sharp, cynical, rebellious minds had left the romantics, the Lake Poets, the legends and the novelists who wrote of silver stallions, chaste queens and the nobility of the British. They were sick of happy endings, of heroes with perfect bodies and transparent souls. They were sick of dreams and they determined that the world would no longer hide with them. They wanted to make the world face its own ugliness, face its social injustices, its prejudices, its sweatshops, its murder and they wanted to do it honestly, brilliantly and preferably with four letter words, the language of the streets.

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on writers continued.

The writers were good at their work; they wanted to show what they could really do and they wanted to do it with Jack Warner's money.

Some wanted to explore man's criminal nature, the animal within all of us and do it without preaching; they wanted to do it with honesty and with enough courage to examine themselves, their reality, their own animal natures.

What the female writers wanted to say no man understood. Perhaps it was too old, too ancient, too true.

The thirties ended and most of the writers went to war..

From the prologue...

Warner Bros. had a style, a look.

The heroes handled every hard case, four-time loser, cow town, taxi dancer, bootlegger, prison guard, bad kid and good woman they could find, and most of World War II. They could smell poison on a broken shot glass, perform an appendectomy with a razor blade, return Richard the Lion-Hearted to his rightful throne, discover a cure for syphilis, die with their boots on, free South America, steal the "let-ers of transit" and then give them up to the man who had stolen their woman.

The women were even tougher. At Warner Bros. the heroines, dames, wives, tramps, gun molls and sweet, unspoiled, down-to-earth girl friends had to survive in a male world. And if they didn't know how, they soon learned. They took the best and worst of men with money, bad intentions, the best of intentions and most often, men with guns. Some followed their guys, others stayed at home as their men served in foreign wars and behind prison bars. Some were loyal, true. Others would do most anything to help their guy "crash out." They handled every male star the studio shoved at them, the best in the industry.

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Hammett, Scarsdale, N. Y., 1929.



Hammett with Dorothy Parker at a public meeting



Hammett arrives in Hollywood, c. 1940. A studio publicity photo

Writers

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Nearly blind, severely crippled and suffering with emphysema from years of heavy smoking, Hellman died in 1984, feisty and combative until the end. "If you don't give me a cigarette this minute," she told a nurse, "I'm going to start screaming."

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LEFT: The 1977 film *Julia*, based on a chapter in *Pentimento* and starring Jason Robards, Jr., as Hammett and Jane Fonda as Hellman, added to Hellman's renown as a woman of courage and strong political convictions.

Writers

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ABOVE: Mabel Dodge Luhan, Frieda Lawrence, and Dorothy Brett, near the Lawrence ranch, Mexico, 1935. (Photograph by Cady Wells, Courtesy of The Great Southwest Books)

Below. Robert Lord



Writers

RIGHT: Aldous and Maria Huxley, early 1930s.
(Matthew Huxley Collection)



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